

KUNAPIPI

796 this time are forbidden to women, and relating all the incidents that directly refer to the Wauwalak, for example, the pregnancy of the elder sister, the flow of afterbirth blood, and the menstruation of the young girl.

The *jiritja* snakes call out, and are answered by the women; and nearby the bullroarer is twirled again. Then the dancing men file around the *ngainmara*-covered women, the leader beating his sticks and singing; the young boys are present. The women have brought presents of food, which are handed over to the *jiritja* snakes and their companions.

The dancing men symbolize Julunggul surrounding the women (the Wauwalak in their *murk*); but these are not swallowed, because none are menstruating or have after-birth blood. "The men dancing around are smelling, but they smell no odour of blood."

796 About this time, visitors from surrounding territories reach the
574 Kunapipi camp; and the foregoing rituals, that serve as introduction to the ceremony as a whole, are completed. Some of them, however, are repeated, both at the sacred ground and at the main camp; important features are the men's dancing around the *ngainmara*-
[431] covered women, and the giving of presents, which are taken back to the ceremonial ground and offered first to Julunggul (for his swallowing) before being eaten.

796 On the sacred ground the *jiritja* men dig a large hole (*nanggaru* or
536 *nonggaru*, billabong) representing Muruwul; all the animals, birds, and vegetables, in the guise of totemic actors, climb into it and dance, just as did those which "ran away" from the Wauwalak. Two other holes are dug, and in each hole squats a man; one, covered with paperbark, represents the female child of the elder sister, while another actor squats outside the hole as the mother. In the second hole is the younger sister, who is menstruating. The "child" in the hole cries, and the "mother" moves around it; then both the "sisters" leave their positions and dance like the Wauwalak. A number of these totemic animals and so on, particularly the opossum, form pairs (male and female) and enter the *nanggaru* (Muruwul), where they simulate coitus.

[83] A number of actors, representing opossums, dance forward around the *nanggaru*; the males have long erect bark penes protruding from their hair-belts. They enact the copulation of these animals.
[88] All these dances are accompanied by singing and beating of sticks, and the young boys going through this ceremony are shown each one and told its significance. On the conclusion of the dancing, every morning and evening, *bukali* (*duu*) or *bukallji* (*jiritja*), depending on the singing, are called by the leader. Men crouch together while the *bukali* "power" names are called in reference to the totemic beings, and at intervals they shout. [These "power" names, being sacred terms (although there are secular power names too) are in the manner

KUNAPIPI

43

of invocation.] Most of the actors are smeared thickly with wallaby or kangaroo grease, and then with red-ochre. When they become hot from dancing the grease runs and drips off them, symbolizing the sweat of a pair of totemic animals (or human beings) after coitus. The shining grease is termed *laklak*, which is an alternate name for the younger Wauwalak sister. 796
536
[302]

When the second new moon appears from the beginning of the Kunapipi, depending, of course, on the proposed length of the ceremony, the men again go out to the sacred ground. Warner (*op. cit.* p. 301) mentions that the Muruwul well (or *nanggaru*) is abandoned at this stage; but in the eastern counterparts witnessed and discussed, it is retained. This appears to depend mainly on the inclination of the Kunapipi leaders, who at Yirrkalla usually take their pattern from Rose River. A large crescent-shaped trench is dug, the *ba'uma* (also called *kanala*, or *kanalara*, the central-western Northern Territory term). This is an extremely important symbol in the Kunapipi. It is usually about ten to twelve feet long, four to five feet deep, and about four feet wide, with earth piled along its concave sides. And it may signify any of the following: the track mark of the female Julunggul; the mark left by her fall, after swallowing the Wauwalak; the crescent-shaped position in which the Wauwalak rested in their *murlk*, before the Snake swallowed them; the clitoris of the Wauwalak; and, its real "inside" meaning, the uterus of the Wauwalak (as a substitute for the Djanggawul Fertility Mothers). Another smaller hole is also dug during some ceremonies; this is called the "younger hole", the uterus of the younger sister, whereas the larger *ba'uma*, also called *da:p* (or *dapl*, foreskin, symbolizing a dilly-bag or uterus), is the uterus of the elder sister. But the principal hole is the *ba'uma*, and is always present in the Kunapipi. 796
778
[805]

When the *ba'uma* is completed, snake totem actors dance or writhe in the hole. Then two actors, one representing a man and another a woman, dance the "mating dance". The man has an erect burk penis and moves in pursuit of the "woman", who is desirous of coitus: they move towards the trench and dance around it, and at its entrance they simulate sexual intercourse. The Mother is said to be present in the *ba'uma*, and her life-giving powers are made operative by the sexual actions of the two dancers. ("The acting of coitus by the totemites is like the uterus being fertilized": the Mother is having sexual intercourse, so that she may produce.) 796
831
535
[776]

Various other dances are held in the *ba'uma*, at which the young initiates are present; the majority are related to coitus. There is, for example, the *dari:t* dance. Two men, representing male and female wagtails, sit opposite each other in the trench with legs folded beneath them; their knees touch, and in the dancing they simulate coitus. There is also the *moli'manina* (*moli* being an alternate name for Julunggul) dance, of the male and female Julunggul Rock

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951

OII7 Murngin OII7

796
881
291
516



796
881
● 536
516
291
142



PLATE VII

[Facing p. 65]

[For captions see category 116, p. xi]